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Appendix F

Article from 5 October 1983 Literaturnaya Gazeta

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At first glance such a proposal might seem a step forward. But if you study it more deeply, it becomes clear that this proposal merely transfers the strategic armaments race onto a qualitative plane, onto the path of creating ever more advanced, destructive and far more expensive types of armament. The latter aspect is especially important for the military monopolies because it promises to provide them with fantastic profits for decades to come.

Judging by reports from Washington, however, it is considered there that one can hardly expect a favorable answer from the Soviet Union to such a proposal. They are undoubtedly right. The Soviet Union advocates a genuine end to the strategic armaments race. The path proposed by the United States is, however, very far removed from that, to put it mildly. One feels that instead of inventing such flexible approaches, the U.S. Administration should heed, first and foremost, the voice of its own people if it is really striving for success at Geneva. The overwhelming majority of the American people unambiguously express themselves in favor of a freeze on all nuclear armaments.

U.S., SOVIET INF DELEGATIONS MEET 5 OCT

LD051159 Moscow TASS in English 1139 GMT 5 Oct 83

[Text] Geneva October 5 TASS -- The delegations from the Soviet Union and the United States to the talks on the limitation of nuclear armaments in Europe held a plenary meeting here today.

USSR WEEKLY DEPICTS REAGAN AS HITLER'S SUCCESSOR

PM051152 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Oct 83 p 3

[Arkadiy Sakhnin article under the rubric "Ideology, Politics, Culture": "The Second Pretender; Do All People Understand What Is Happening?"]

[Text] An entire gamut of feelings and thoughts. About today's agitated world, about life on earth, about the distant and the not-so-distant past, about friends and enemies. And our thoughts and feelings, generated by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's statement, flow into one and give rise to energy and a desire to act. And you are no longer alone with your thoughts, these are not just your ideas: This is the single will of the people and the will of the earth's peoples, ineradicable like life itself. No matter how tragic the situation in the world may be, our optimism does not desert us because we are human beings and believe in mankind's reason; we believe in our ideals.

It is hard to keep inside that which has gripped your soul. And this is why I am writing.

The madman had a bomb in his hand. He was determined to rule the world. We appealed for the madman to be stopped. Let us all get together, take the bomb away, and send the sick man to hospital.

"What is the matter with you?", the Western countries' leaders smiled at us. "The madman must be treated well, tenderly. We will persuade him and placate him, and he will calm down."

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They went to Munich to try to persuade him. They were too kind and made him a gift of Czechoslovakia. He said that he had calmed down. He said that he would put the bomb away, and that would be the end of that.

Those who betrayed the Allied state were triumphant. They went back from Munich to their capitals like victors, and the Champs Elysees and the banks of the Thames echoed their triumphant "vivat."

It is well known how it all ended. Fifty-five million dead. More than half of Europe in ruins. The smoke from smoldering ashes hung all over Europe. In Asia -- Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In the United States -- the low hum of electronic calculators. The cash was being counted.

The world was in mourning. In mourning, but alive. The sun rose above it. Imperialism was raging -- it had failed to exterminate the ideas of socialism. They had spread even more widely. They had moved across to other countries. They had to be stopped. Something had to be invented. It was invented. Imperialism invented the monstrous hybrid of peace and war -- the "cold war." It even devised a formula for it: "brinkmanship." Keep the world in a permanent state of tension, in fear.

The peoples perceived this. Under pressure from the peoples, imperialism seemed to accept the incipient detente. But it could not keep it up. What do you mean, detente?! So much power! Must rule the world!

A familiar tune. We heard it from the madman. It was also heard by a smart master of ceremonies, an actor from the "General Electric Theater" television program. He was advertising washing machines and detergents. He got it into his head: a career can be built round this tune. He selected the words to the tune and rehearsed the pose of sovereign. He uttered: "I will not end the ideological 'drama.'" Those who write with pain at the sound of the word "peace" liked the pose. They liked the words, too. They decided to give it a try and brought the actor in for a test. They hauled him off the theatrical and onto the political stage. On the small stage, to start with. The familiar tune sounded louder, the words more threatening. The test was successful. On to the big stage.

This is how the second plenipotentiary of imperialism to lay a claim to world domination appeared on earth in our days. He picked a team worthy of himself and settled into the White House.

Today the Second Pretender holds in his hands not a bomb but a nuclear missile. He is waving it about on land, on the water, under the water, and in the sky, and is carrying it into space. He has different missiles. He has missiles like, for example, the Titan-2 ICBM. One hit by it equals 500 Hiroshimas. Or others like the Trident-1. It strikes from a distance of 7,400 km. During its flight, its nose cone divides and spits out eight individually targetable nuclear warheads. An Ohio-class submarine carries on board 24 missiles -- 192 warheads. That means 960 Hiroshimas.

It was not I who thought of this unit for the measurement of human deaths and destruction. This invention stands to the credit of those who dropped the first atomic bomb. The new unit of measurement has become firmly established as part of their daily usage. They use it in the development of new types of weapons. Thus, when developing Trident-2, whose power is almost double that of its predecessor -- about 1,800 Hiroshimas -- they calculated: One Hiroshima equals 140,000 lives, so what do 1,800 Hiroshimas equal? They multiplied these figures, and the answer was 252 million. Two hundred and fifty-two million lives, almost five times the losses suffered by humanity during the whole of World War II. This is just a single salvo from a single Ohio submarine armed with Trident-2 missiles. Suitable. They started fitting them out.

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Further calculations? Incalculable....

The gigantic military octopus overshadowed by the stars and stripes has spread all over the globe. The same flag flies over 1,500 military bases and installations located in 32 countries in the world. A destructive force that is hard to comprehend is concentrated in them.

But so what? Are we by any chance helpless in the face of this element? No, we also have something. Something serious. We can defend ourselves. This makes the Second Pretender indignant and sets him in a new state of rage. Look out, he shouts. America is in danger! How dare they?! The Russians have built the aircraft carriers Kiev and Minsk, the nuclear-powered missile cruiser Kirov, the Typhoon submarines.... But he keeps quiet about the fact that all these branches of armed forces emerged in our country only after the U.S. Navy was equipped with similar types.

And what did you think, after all: that we would build canoes to face your armadas?

The Soviet Union has 135 military plants! -- we hear from across the ocean. I don't know. Maybe we do have 135 of them. I am quite prepared to accept it. But the United States has 145, as well as 4,000 private firms completing Pentagon orders. Were we supposed to build toy factories in response to this? We would, of course, like to create only enterprises which would work for the people's benefit. But we will not allow ourselves to fall back in the military sphere -- history will not forgive that.

We have never been first in the arms race, nor have we ever wanted to be first. We were the first to build an AES. We were the first to launch a nuclear-powered ice-breaker. We were the first to go up into space, marking the beginning of a new era in mankind's development. We were and still are the first to propose that we disarm. We have proposed cutting down armed forces, we have proposed limiting production and banning development of new systems and renouncing chemical, bacteriological, and other barbarous weapons, and we have, finally, proposed complete disarmament. They reject, don't want such things. It was we who unilaterally declared that we would not be the first to use nuclear weapons. Follow our example, and the question of nuclear war will fade into nonexistence. The only remaining thing would be to destroy the nuclear weapons. We have developed the technology to accomplish that. It envisages the release of incalculable energy for peaceful purposes. And for the very same purposes -- astronomical amounts of electronic and radio equipment, various instruments, metals, and other materials.

They, the others, know about this technology, but don't want to hear about it. They will not heed the voice of reason. What do they want, after all? They want us to look on as they arm themselves, and to obey them in fear of these weapons. But this is something that we don't want.

We will not allow others to determine our fate. We have been forced to keep up with armaments. We have not gone ahead one iota, but we have not fallen back, either. This is how an approximate equilibrium was established in the two worlds' armaments. Everybody knows about this. In 1981, Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov declared before the whole world: "I can confirm with all responsibility that approximate equality in strategic nuclear arms exists between the Soviet Union and the United States between the Warsaw Pact and NATO...." In the same year A. Haig, who occupied the post of secretary of state, said: "...Approximate parity between our two countries in strategic nuclear forces continues to be maintained."

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A year later the "approximate equality" was confirmed by former Defense Secretary Schlesinger. Meanwhile the Second Pretender, aware of all this, has declared that his program is to "restore strategic superiority over the USSR in 10 years."

This superiority will not materialize. Neither in 10 years, nor within any other time limits. No matter what it may cost us, it will not materialize.

In the attempt to implement his plan, he is sending Pershing and cruise missiles to Europe. Where else next? How many more? The insanity of those who are prepared to accept the new U.S. weapons on their territory is amazing. It is not clear what this could mean for them, how it could all end for them? Or are they calculating on our being unable to respond? Can they not understand that, if Washington presses the button, we will receive the signal at the same time as those standing at the control panels of the U.S. missiles? And don't let the people in Washington hope that we would limit our response only to the U.S. forces based in Europe.

What will happen? It is terrifying to think about. It is awesome to talk about. "Limited nuclear war" is a brazen bluff. The gigantic force of the split atom will not halt at border posts. There is enough of it to make the oceans boil and to melt the arctic ice. Don't let people in the White House daydream about the mythical "limited one," don't let them hope that they will set their electronic calculators in motion again. No one will be counting any cash.

And still the Second Pretender is trying to push through the "limited one." On the eve of the opening of the UN General Assembly session, the White House released a document stamped "For Immediate Distribution." It reported the U.S. President's meeting with the heads of delegations, at which he solemnly proclaimed his intention to deliver an exceptionally important message at the current session. His intention to reveal there his new initiatives, his new constructive proposals that would finally break the deadlock at the Geneva talks.

And so he spoke. It was annoying that I did not quite understand everything in his statement. It did, however, become clear that this was not my own fault. Many people did not understand. More precisely, very few people understood. The White House realized this. To its credit, it quickly found a way out of the situation. "Explanations" to the President's speech were released the very next day. This is good. They did the right thing -- they deciphered what exactly the U.S. President wanted to say from such a high rostrum.

Even the President himself formulated some things clearly. He said, for example, that he had already and repeatedly proposed reducing strategic arms and even completely "wiping them off the face of the earth." And he defined this more precisely: What he has in mind are "fast-flying, accurate ICBM's comprising a first-strike potential." Wonderful, isn't it? Attractive, as well? Are we really against that? Well, under what conditions is this "wiping off" to take place?

At this point I would like to have interrupted his speech and asked: "And what, Mr President, about the thousands of U.S. nuclear missiles based in Europe and targeted on vital centers in the Soviet Union: are they to remain? And what about your armadas of heavy bombers with nuclear ballistic missiles: Are they to remain? And the Pershings and the cruises? Are they not first-strike weapons? True, according to your "flexible" option, they are such weapons in some people's hands only. In ours. We have already heard this. So where are the 'new,' the 'constructive' proposals?"

We understand you well, Mr President. Let Europe explode while you, with medium-range weapons well out of your reach, sit on Capitol Hill and observe. Is that right?

Incidentally, about medium-range weapons. This "new initiative" by the U.S. side was very accurately described by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov. He said:

"...We are being offered talks on how to help the NATO bloc change the balance in medium-range nuclear means existing in Europe to its advantage. And this move is being presented as something new, without even batting an eyelid."

No, they are not proposing anything new. Nor are they acting in a new way. The U.S. Brookings Institution has calculated how they act. According to its data, between 1946 and 1975 the United States resorted on 215 occasions either directly or indirectly to the use of armed forces or threatened other countries with military interference. The question of using nuclear weapons has been on the agenda in Washington on 19 occasions. On four occasions it was proposed to use nuclear weapons against the USSR.

Why, Mr President? Just because we exist?

The team that has settled into the White House continues to scream about our superiority in arms. Yes, they lack one type of weapon which we possess. None of their scientific and design centers is capable of creating it. None of their dollars are capable of purchasing it. And we mastered this weapon a long time ago, at the dawn of the revolution, while we were still economically weak. And even at that time the force of this weapon helped us achieve victory over the allied armies of the Russian bourgeoisie and the Entente. It does not age with the passage of time. It grows stronger and becomes more powerful as time passes. Everyone knows that when the madman threw the bomb at us he enjoyed superiority in tanks, artillery, and aircraft, as well as in the numerical strength of the fully mobilized army, and the advantage of surprise attack. Nevertheless, he did not have and could not have had the weapon which we possess: If an idea conquers the masses, it becomes a material force.

Our ideological strength is the weapon most feared by the enemies. Our communist ideology, our world outlook, our faith in the correctness of our cause were the main weapons which helped us, even while the Great Patriotic War was in progress, to achieve complete superiority in all other types of weapons available to the enemy.

Now we are not alone. For a long time now communism has ceased to be a specter. The ideas of communism have created in Europe a mighty community of socialist countries. These ideas have crossed the frontiers of Europe. They have already gained a foothold in a number of Asian, African, and Central and Latin American countries.

Our weapon is bloodless. And we offer capitalism a bloodless competition. They are afraid. They are afraid of our ideological weapon. They want to knock it out of our hands. Beat our ideas out of people's heads. Dilute the brains, corrode morally, deprave spiritually, undermine the faith in people and the system generate an apathy toward life.

We have been encircled not only by military bases but also by launchers and launchpads for a total psychological assault on the mind. Two U.S. radio stations, ensconced in Munich as if on their own territory, have established in various countries around us 46 powerful relay stations whose antennas are aimed at the Soviet Union and the European socialist countries. They pontificate round the clock on 80 frequencies. Their programs are in 6 East European languages and 15 languages of the USSR peoples. But these are just a few of the means whose purpose is to "bring about an evolution in the Soviet people's way of thinking."

The second pretender has already started World War III in the psychological field. He has conducted a fundamental reorganization of ideological structures. War is war -- and so has handed the leadership of propaganda over to the army and the intelligence services. He has set up a central staff for this purpose -- a government body with unlimited rights and powers, covered up by the modest title of "Special Propaganda Planning Group." He has installed his national security aide at its head. The group includes the defense secretary and the head of the CIA. This troika, together with the USIA director, comprise the central staff leadership. The troika is understandable; they are directly linked with war. But the USIA? It is nothing but the U.S. Information Agency. That is its official title. It hardly matters what it is called! The news agencies deal with information. The USIA, on the other hand, is a gigantic complex, similar in nature to Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry of blessed memory but far more powerful, whose purpose is "...to seek new ways and means of ideological infiltration of the USSR and the East European countries." All U.S. embassies have received orders from the White House team; The USIA sections "... must be accepted by all ambassadors as one of the most important elements of U.S. representation abroad."

The USIA consists of 10,000 personnel and 206 sections in various countries. Many hundreds of newspapers publish articles aimed against us on its orders, and it directs publication of special issues of journals, books, and movies -- cleverly put-together documentaries and "features" -- as well as television movies and programs; radio programs are broadcast, spectacles are organized, special literature is delivered to libraries, and exhibitions with tendentiously selected exhibits are held. All this, taken as a whole, presents our Armed Forces as forces of aggression and is meant to generate hatred of us.

Special scientific centers act along the same lines. These are the Hoover Institute for War, Revolution, and Peace, the Russian Institute, the Research Institute on International Change, the Russian Research Center, the Research Institute on Russia and the East European Countries, the Research Institute on Questions of Communist Strategy and Propaganda; all together about 200 "institutes," "centers," and "foundations." They employ thousands of psychologists, sociologists, economists, financiers, engineers, doctors, military experts -- representatives of all fields of knowledge.

They submit hundreds of doctoral dissertations and develop various aspects of one and the same theme: how to poison the faith of peoples in the USSR and the socialist countries in their own social system. How to present lies so that they sound like truth. They study and present a distorted picture of our policy, our economy, our life. Their filing cabinets contain many thousands of "personal files" on our cadres. They file away service changes, incentives, awards and penalties, views, and personal inclinations concerning our scientists, writers, composers, famous athletes and actors, designers, architects.

They try to find where, who, and at what convenient time the subject of their grafting may be. They also write the scenarios of major provocations.

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They do not count the dollars when testing us in "psychological warfare", they throw away billions on it. Now they have reached another extreme: They do not count human lives. They keep on testing. They cannot understand that we will not forego our sovereignty. We will not permit espionage flights not only over our strategic bases but even over fields where we have sown potatoes.

Judging by the U.S. military preparations, its major operations in the "psychological offensive," the heating up of the atmosphere in the world, and the critical tension in international relations, we see that a deadly danger hangs not only over our motherland but over the world.

Let us recall. Aleksandrov's song "Arise, Immense Country..." came out on the third day of the Great Patriotic War. Shostakovich's famous Sixth Symphony was performed and the plays of Korneychuk and Simonov were showing in the very first period of the war. The entire creative intelligentsia, from Aleksey Tolstoy and Mikhail Sholokhov to the rank-and-file literary worker, rose to fight against the deadly danger together with all people. Writers, painters, composers, and journalists set aside their unfinished works, declared themselves mobilized, and joined the great struggle with their weapon truth.

The war which imperialism is now planning will not have a "first solution is not to permit war. All our strength must be devoted to this purpose.

Are we in a position to say that all Soviet writers today have oriented their creativity and their talents against the threat of war? This is the requirement of the times. Today our hearts must echo again: "Arise, Immense Country!"

This applies to every Soviet person. "Everything for the front, everything for victory!" Under this party slogan the Soviet people labored, forgetful of their own selves, and achieved victory.

We will manage to keep our self-control in today's agitated world. Just as in those victorious years, we will cast equanimity aside and roll up our sleeves. Today we cannot, we do not have the right not to work at full stretch. Each one of us must be aware of the thought: My labor consolidates our might. A might which prevents the unleashing of a nuclear catastrophe.

We are the main force which is called upon to halt the insanity. People on earth understand ever more clearly the state the world is in. And they are not keeping silent. We have entered a new historical era in the movement of social forces. History has not seen such a worldwide agitation by the peoples protesting against the new American weapons. Their voice cannot be stifled. It will echo ever louder until it turns into a gigantic material force.

Take the plugs out of your ears, Reagan. Time to think about God. That is what religious people would say. But we are realists: Think about Nuremberg.

SOVIET 'GOODWILL' TOWARD DISARMAMENT REITERATED

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[Commentary by political observer Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] The attitude to the well-known statement by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, which contains a clear and articulate exposition of the Soviet foreign policy position at the present moment, is not identical. This lack of identity has been engendered by the political and ideological views of those who form an opinion about this important Soviet foreign policy document.